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ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD OTHER AMERICAN POWERS

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The American Academy of Political and Social Science has practically completed a decade and a half of suggestive and useful work. It has passed from a tentative and a formative state to one of recognized influence and efficiency. The aims of this body are educational and, in that sense, the value of its work is scarcely to be overestimated. It has directed public sentiment, and has aroused interest in and brought about brilliant discussion of many of the vital political and social problems which our complex civilization sets before us.

It is not to be supposed that a definite solution will be immediately found for the more difficult problems which confront us, but it may be safely said that by means of discussion, analysis, exchange of views and information, we may find the path which leads to ultimate solution.

The American Academy of Political and Social Science has vindicated its usefulness. A glance at its published ANNALS is sufficient proof of this. It has contributed a very large amount of informing and stimulating literature to the country, and has enlisted the active participation of a good many great men, and a great many good men.

The question which you propose to consider this afternoon is one of deep and abiding interest. It has been important since the beginning of the nation, and it grows in importance as the nation expands and enters into closer relations with the rest of the world.

It is not my purpose to discuss the "Position of the United States on the American Continent." What I say is merely of an introductory character. The real discussion will later be carried on by a number of highly competent and forceful speakers. But no one

who considers this question can be insensible to the vast responsibilities which rest upon the United States. Our responsibility, as I have said, has increased with our national growth. This country has always stood before the world for certain things. In the course of its evolution from a number of scattered settlements on the eastern seaboard to its present position of being a considerable factor in world politics, our people have cherished—deeply imbedded in the minds of all classes—the uplifting and inspiring belief that we were in advance of other nations, and were, in effect, setting them an example of free government and noble living. So there is imposed upon us the trust and responsibility of our aspirations. Whatever measure of success we achieve in the way of exercising substantial and lasting influence of a distinctly wholesome nature in respect to other peoples in this hemisphere will be determined by the degree of loyalty and faithfulness which we maintain to the pure and lofty ideals which inspired the founders of this republic.

We must live a sound national life if we expect to exercise, in the family of nations, a real and rational influence. The earnest, self-sacrificing spirit of the early fathers, which moved them to subdue the wilderness for the sake of freedom of conscience and judgment, and to conquer a new country in the face of terrifying obstacles and dangers, may take new directions, in view of our altered conditions, but it must not flicker and expire by reason of the vast material wealth which has come to this country.

In short, I think the lessons of history teach us that a nation cannot be rich in the good things of this world and poor spiritually without at the same time sowing the seeds of decay and dissolution.

The position of the United States on the American continent is in the process of determination. The question presents itself to us from time to time in direct and practical ways that cannot be avoided. The sum of the efforts of the government and of the people of the United States to meet these questions as they become vital and pressing is the history of our position on this continent. This history we are making from year to year, sometimes slowly and sometimes with great rapidity and definiteness. That the unselfish purpose of this government, and the soundness and purity of its intention to refrain from land-grabbing, are beginning to have abundant understanding and appreciation, is evidenced in very many and satisfactory ways. I do not think there are longer any fair, open-minded, thoroughly in-

telligent people south of us, who are honest intellectually, that believe that this country wishes anything else than the peace and well-being of all of its southern neighbors. I find gratifying indications of this growing understanding of the motives of the United States in its relations with Latin America in a recent article in one of the journals of Havana, the *Nuevo Paris*.

"The Republic of Santo Domingo," it declares, "has entered upon a new period of its history. Under the protection of the United States, there can be no fear of further bloody struggles for power. By coming to an agreement with Washington, President Morales has done his native land a great service, which will call for the gratitude of the present and of future generations of Dominicans.

"The Dominicans are energetic and brave, but their energy and bravery have been hopelessly wasted. From now on these two qualities will serve to raise the intellectual and moral standard and lay a firm foundation for the prosperity of Santo Domingo. The country will, while keeping its independence, pay its debts, live in peace with the world, and devote all its energy to the development of the prodigious wealth of its unexploited soil. The United States will guarantee the Dominicans protection against themselves and against foreign cupidity. Now they may indeed boast that they are on the road to civilized existence."

So it will be found, I fancy, the degree of our influence, and the importance and power, if you please, of our position will be determined from time to time by the manner in which we deal with these questions which will come before us in an insistent, practical way.

If our relations with the other nations of this hemisphere are conducted in a spirit of justice and generosity, with a kindly regard for the interests of humanity; if it be felt and understood that we are not wanton aggressors; that we have no irresistible craving for territorial aggrandizement; that we ask only for the just treatment of our citizens and for our share of the trade of the world, we cannot fail to become a factor in the international problem on this hemisphere, which will continually make for universal prosperity and long years of productive and happy peace.

Neither in the Orient nor in the Caribbean are we seeking to acquire fresh territory or unfair commercial advantages. There are certain salient and self-assertive facts, however, to the existence of

which we cannot close our eyes. To many of us who have had to give close practical consideration to these matters, and to deal with specific cases, it seems plain that no picture of our future is complete which does not contemplate and comprehend the United States as the dominant power in the Caribbean Sea.

This is a personal, individual reflection. I do not, therefore, propose to enlarge upon it or to indulge in theorizing or speculation concerning it.

This government will always be more or less concerned, as it now is, with the problem of the Caribbean and certain parts of its littoral, and I may say that whatever we have accomplished there in the way of preserving order, stability and the establishment of sound financial conditions, will not be lost.

The effect and the influence of good example in the maintenance of order and sound finances will endure and perhaps come to more substantial fruition than in the past. It will reinforce what we did for humanity in the Island of Cuba, and illumine our efforts to uplift alien races in Porto Rico and the Philippines.

In considering the position of the United States on the American continent you will ultimately have to reckon with that new and great factor, the interoceanic canal, and with the fact that circumstances have forced us to depart from our position of political and commercial isolation. The vastly augmented power of production on the part of the American people has rendered insufficient the home market. We are being driven, by necessity, to find new markets, and these economic problems must be given due, if not commanding place, in considering in a rounded, broad and comprehensive way the relations of the United States to the rest of this hemisphere and to the rest of the world.